

THE
F A T E
O F
F A V O U R I T E S :

OR, A

*Looking-Glass for S*****.*

Address'd to the Subscribers of
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verer of his Country.



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THE

F A T E

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T H E
FATE of FAVOURITES.

Nothing is more certain, than that in all Governments it is the Duty of a King as well as his Ministers, and indeed of every honest Subject, to prefer the *Publick Good* to his own Private Interest. But it is too often the Case, that the latter forget what they really ought to do, and study only to enlarge their Power: for which Reason, says the Great Duke of Rohan, *The absolute Reign of FAVOURITES is the RUIN of a State:* Which, however common it may appear, receives a Sanction from such an illustrious Pen, that it obtains the Authority of a Maxim. Nay, I could bring Numbers of Examples from History to prove it; and the Historians seem to handle no Part of it with so much Pleasure as the *Fall of Favourites*. It would, however, be very unreasonable, to deprive Princes of the Privileges of Nature, the Liberty of their Passions, and the Choice of their Friends; which has sometimes, tho' very rarely, been that of their People, as it will always be, when good and wise Princes govern.

How happy was the *Roman Empire* in the Friendships of *Augustus*, who never hastily admitted any Man into his Favour. nor rashly discarded him afterwards? Always choosing such as were eminent for their high Qualities in the Arts of Peace or War: And When he had chosen, he could see their Faults, as well as Merit; blaming often (as *Suetonius* tells us) *Agrippa* for his want of Patience, and *Maecenas* for his want of Taciturnity. Yet, where shall we find two such Persons, of antient or modern Story, so deserving the good Graces of their Sovereign? Whose Wis-

dom was the more conspicuous for that of his Friends. The Valour and Victories of the one; the Zeal and Politeness of the other; the Moderation and Humanity of both, were not some of the least Blessings of that Reign; the happiest the *Romans* ever liv'd under.

By this Instance 'tis evident Favourites may be the Cause of as much Good as Evil in a Government, and are therefore not hurtful of themselves. However, considering Princes are but Men, and as much expos'd to the Tyranny of their Passions as others; 'tis but too much to be fear'd, they will often give themselves up blindly to them in the Disposal of their Friendship, as all bad Princes are apt to do; and good Princes being much more rare than bad, ill Favourites have been so frequent, that the very Name is now become odious. We need not look farther into History, than that of *Augustus* immediate Successor (*Tiberius*) under whom the *Romans* began first to feel in earnest the Difference between a Free People, and that of Slaves.

The two Men who rose highest in this wicked Emperor's Favour, were *Sejanus* and *Piso*, who had neither the Virtues nor Abilities of the former Favourites. Their Wisdom they supply'd with Craft, and their Zeal with Flattery. They study'd the Passions of their Master, and not the Interest of his Subjects. Their Fraud and Avarice were as great as their Ambition; and their Pride and Cruelty without Bounds. By these *Germanicus* and the best Men of *Rome* fell into Disgrace: And 'tis said of *Tiberius**, that he did not raise *Sejanus* out of any extraordinary Kindness for him, but to make use of him as an Instrument to destroy those he hated. But we have several Examples of the like Nature, that have a nearer Relation to us; more especially the Lives of *Edward II.* and *Richard II.* furnishes us with sufficient Matter of Reflection on the Danger of ill Favourites, both to the States and themselves. Sir *Robert Howard* has wrote an admirable History of the Reigns of those two Princes; on reading which, I could not help dipping deeper into the Lives and Fortunes of two Prime Ministers, who then rul'd this Kingdom, and brought both King and People into the utmost Misery; which the Reader may be satisfied of, by the following Reflections, which Sir *Robert* inserted in the Preface to the above-mention'd History. "The Parting

" with

* Suet in vit Tib.

“ with Power to Ministry and Favourites, says he, even
 “ did, and ever will, breed a Distrust in the People, enough
 “ to shake all Confidence in their Prince: And 'tis but
 “ natural it should have so fatal an Operation, since the
 “ true Interest of a King differs totally from theirs. His
 “ best and securest Happiness is founded on the Peoples
 “ Good — Their Interest and Ambition must be sup-
 “ ply'd by their Oppression. This is the seldom-failing
 “ Cause that made all Princes unkind to their People; that
 “ invest Ministers with their Power and Affection; and
 “ I am confident there are but few Stories that have given
 “ an Account of a Prince so *resign'd to Others*, but have
 “ told of their Misfortunes *involv'd in Theirs*, &c. &c.

But as it may be of Service to future Ages, I shall take
 this Opportunity of inserting the Life of the first Earl
Mortimer, who from the Quality of an ordinary Baron in
Herefordshire, rose so high in his Queen's Favour, that it
 has left as great a Blot on her Memory, as his Vices have
 on his own.

The Name of *Mortimer* is as old in *England* as the Con-
 quest, and so many of our Families owe their Descent to
 the Followers of the *Norman*, that though the *Era* is not
 very old, compar'd with the *German Genealogies*, of which
 we ought to be more proud; yet the best of them think,
 you cannot do them greater Honour than to bring their
 Ancestors in with the Conqueror, which has occasion'd
 the spoiling a great many good old *Saxon* Names, and
 turning them into *French*: As for Instance, if my Name
 was *Greenfield* a hundred Years ago, and Fortune should be
 kinder to me than she was to my Ancestors, I would pre-
 sently deduce my Origin from *Granville* in *Normandy*, and
 assign the Founder of our House some principal Post in
 the *Bastards Army*. And if I had either of the two Names
 which are now in my Head, how easily could I derive
 the one from a *Mareschal of France*, and the other from a
 First President of the Parliament of *Paris*; though the
 one is Originally *Welsh*, and the other *Saxon*: For it is a
 hard Matter when a Person arrives to exalted Stations and
 Dignities, if he cannot by Father's Side or Mother's Side,
 croud himself into some Family or other of a better Fi-
 gure than his own, and by changing a Letter or two of
 his Name, entitle himself to the Honours the Herald finds
 out for him; which puts me in mind of a Passage in *la*
Bruyere, in the Chapter of *Certain Customs*; I here declare
 it

it openly, says he, and desire all Men to take Notice of it, that none may wonder hereafter, if ever any great Man thinks me worthy of his Care, if ever I happen to make my Fortune, there is one Godfrey de la Bruyere, whom all the Chronicles of France place among the Men of the Highest Rank, that follow'd Godfrey de Bouillon in his Conquest of the Holy Land; and this Godfrey shall then be the Man from whom I am descended in a direct Line. By the same Means all the Mortimers in England, from the Cobler to the Count, if we had one of that Name, might pretend to be descended from him who came in with William the First, and claim an Alliance with the Dukes of Mortimer in France; I take the Liberty to digress, that being allowable in writing Lives, which would be an Offence to general History. 'Tis certain there were many considerable Persons of the Family of Mortimer, before Edmund and Roger, in the Reign of Edward the First, Father and Uncle to Roger Mortimer, whose Life I have undertaken to write, and his Descent by the Father's Side, being more Honourable than that by the Mother, I shall take my Choice as others have done on other Occasions, and speak only of that which I like best. He was the Son of Edmund Mortimer, and born in the Year 1285, the Fourteenth of Edward the First; he was in the Seventeenth Year of his Age when his Father died.

The King, according to the Royal Prerogative at that time, gave the Wardship of the young Lord Roger Mortimer to Pierce Gaveston, who was a Companion of his Son Edward, Prince of Wales; and being highly belov'd by him, was favour'd by the Father, till he perceived Gaveston corrupted the young Prince's Manners, putting him on many Extravagancies, Debaucheries and Riots; of which, one was the breaking into the Lord Treasurer, the Bishop of Chester's, Park: This was intolerable, in times when the Temporals of the Clergy were Sacred; and the King was so enrag'd, that he imprison'd the Prince, and banish'd Gaveston; who, before his Exile, granted Roger Mortimer his Ward-Liberty to marry whom he pleas'd; and freed him from his Wardship for 2000 Marks. Not long after he took to Wife Joan, the Daughter of Peter de Genevile, Son of Jeffery de Genevile, Lord of Trim in Ireland.

Mortimer was one of the most gallant Noblemen of his time; and it cannot be doubted, but the Court was the
Scenes

Scene of his Youth, as well as riper Years. He was in his Eighteenth Year, when King *Edward* prepar'd for an Expedition against the *Scots*, to revenge the Murder of *John Cumyn*, whom he had taken into his Protection.

In order to this, Proclamation was made for all Persons qualified by Paternal Succession, or otherwise, to appear at *Westminster*, and receive the Order of Knighthood. At the Day appointed, 300 Gentlemen, Sons of Earls, Barons and Knights, made their Appearance; and the King having Knighted the Prince of *Wales*, the Prince gave the Honour to *Roger Mortimer*, and the rest that attended to receive it with great Solemnity.

He follow'd the King in that Enterprize, *A. D.* 1305. which was almost over before he came, the Earl of *Pembroke* having routed *Bruce*, and reduc'd his Party, Enemies to *Cumyn* and the *Baliols*; *Mortimer*, whether out of Fear or Disgust, left the Army without Leave. Indeed, his Courage was not his most distinguishing Quality: And this so incens'd the King, that he commanded the Sheriffs of *Gloucester*, *Hereford*, *Shropshire* and *Staffordshire*, to seize his Lands. However, *Mortimer* found means to procure the Mediation of Queen *Margaret*, Aunt to the Princess *Isabella* of *France*, who married King *Edward* the Second; and in the following Year all his Lands were restor'd to him.

Edward the Second, about the same time succeeded his Father, *A. D.* 1309. and in the third Year of his Reign, the Lord *Roger Mortimer* was made Governor of the Castle of *Buelt* in *Brecknockshire*. This King had recall'd *Gaweston*; and he renew'd his corrupt Practices: Upon which the Barons remonstrate against him, and he is sent to *Ireland* for a few Months, whence he return'd to the Possession of new Favours, which he put to such an ill Use, that his Tyranny grew intolerable, and provok'd the Barons not only to threaten the King, but to take Arms against him. 'Tis very probable *Mortimer*, whose Ambition began early to shew itself, sided with the Favourite, in hopes to be one himself. For, during these Transactions, in the 6th Year of the Reign of this King, we find mention made of Moneys exhibited out of the Exchequer to him, in recompence of his Expences in *Gascoigne* for the King's Service. He was in the fatal Battle of *Bannocksbourne*, and continu'd in the *Scots* Wars the four following Years, *A. D.* 1317. In the last of which, the
11th

with of King *Edward*, he was made Lord Justice of *Ireland*; so important a Trust at that time, that it shews he was far advanc'd in the King's Favour: For the Island was then invaded by *Edward Bruce*, who had made himself Master of a good Part of it; and assum'd the Title of King. *Mortimer* carry'd with him thirty-eight Knights, and took upon him to make two more upon his Arrival there: Where being joined by *John de Birmingham*, and *Sir Nicholas de Verdon*, he clear'd the Kingdom of the *Lacyes*, who put themselves under the Protection of the *Scots*. But his Feats of Arms make no great Figure in our Histories, he being out more for a Court than a Camp, and sifter for Intrigue than Action. *Sir John de Birmingham* had the Honour of Knighthood conferred on him by *Mortimer*, who the next Year engag'd in the *Scots Wars*, but did nothing in them worthy Remembrance.

Before this there had been great Differences between *Guy de Beauchamp*, Earl of *Warwick*, whom *Gaveston* us'd to call the Black Dog of *Arden*, then lately deceas'd, and the Lord *Mortimer*, about certain Lands in the Marches of *Wales*, which were made up by a Contract of Marriage between *Henry de Beauchamp*, the Earl of *Warwick's* Son, and the Lord *Mortimer's* Daughter, which afterwards took Effect; the Bishop of *Hereford* writing to the Pope for a Dispensation on account of their Affinity.

John, Brother to the Lord *Roger Mortimer*, departing this Life *A. D.* 1318, the latter had Liberty of the Mannors of *Bromsgrave* and *Norton*, in the County of *Worcester*, as his next Heir. *John* had obtain'd a Grant of them the same Year, in fee Farm paying 10 *l.* a Year into the Exchequer. The Lord *Mortimer*, was now also constituted Lord Justice of *Ireland* a second time, and raising Forces in the Marches, assisted *Sir John de Charlton*, Lord of *Powis*, in Right of his Wife *Hawise*, whose Marriage the King had granted to the Lord *Mortimer*, against *Griffith* Uncle to *Hawise*, who had entered *Powis Land* with a great Force, and committed excessive Spoil. But the Lord *Mortimer* obliged him to submit after much Peril and Trouble, and restor'd the injur'd Knight and his Lady to the peaceable Enjoyment of their Territories. He married his Daughter *Maud* to *John*, Son and Heir to *Sir John de Charlton*, and the Lady *Hawise*, and had himself the Inheritance of certain Lands given him by them,

them, as also the Forest of Ucheldre, which lay contiguous to his Lordship of Redewyn.

In the Year 1320, he married his Son Roger Mortimer to Joan, Daughter of the Lord Edmund Butler of Ireland, and it appears by Deeds executed at Wigmore, that all the Lord Butler's Castles and Lands in Ireland were settled on Roger the Younger, and his Wife, and the Heirs Male of his Body.

By these Alliances, and the Additions he had made to his Fortune, the Lord Mortimer was now become very powerful, and began to be look'd upon as one of the principal Barons. As such he was courted to join with those Lords who oppos'd the Arbitrary Government of King Edward, and his new Minion, *Hugh Spencer* the Younger: Occasion of Quarrel was easily taken, where so little Caution was observed in giving it. But the Pretence made use of by the Earl of Hereford, and the Mortimers, was this: A Baron, named *William Breves*, having wasted his Estate in Wales, offered to sell part of his Inheritance to several Purchasers, *Humphrey de Bohun*, Earl of Hereford, obtain'd Leave of the King to buy it, and bargain'd for it, it lying near his own Lands on the Borders: The Lord Mortimer, and Sir Roger Mortimer, his Uncle, for the same Reason contracted also for it with Sir *William Brewes*, not knowing any thing of the Earl of Hereford's Bargain: But *Hugh Spencer* having Lands also in those Parts, in Right of *Eleanor* his Wife, one of the three Sisters, and Co-heirs of *Gilbert de Clare*, Earl of Gloucester, obtains a more especial Leave of the King, and buys it out of all their Hands. The Earl of Hereford complaining to *Thomas* Earl of Lancaster, Son to the Earl of Lancaster, Uncle to the King, a very popular Lord, to whom all the Discontented resorted for Refuge; and the Barons meeting at *Shireburn*, enter'd into a Confederacy against *Hugh Spencer* and his Father; swearing not to lay down their Arms till the *Spencers* were banish'd. In the mean time the Younger *Spencer* was so far from fearing them, that he gave new Occasion of Offence; for, not contented with his third Part of the Lands, of the late Earl of Gloucester, he attempted to possess himself by Force of the other two Thirds belonging to his Wife's Sister, and invaded the Country of Glamorgan: Mortimer being assisted by the Earl of Hereford, and Sir Roger his Uncle, oppos'd him, took the Castle of Caerdiff, and sent Sir George Gorges, the Governor, Prisoner to his Castle of Wigmore:

He then brought all the adjacent Country under his Obedience, and aspir'd to a Power, which began to give the other Barons a Jealousy of his Ambition. And, not long after, pretending, the Castle of Clonne, with all the Lands and Honours annex'd to them, was his: He forcibly enter'd it, and took Fealty of the Tenants, tho' the Lordship belong'd to Edmund Fitz Allen, Earl of Arundel, whose Right to it hasten'd his End, as will be seen hereafter.

The Lord Mortimer was one of the Lords who march'd with the Earls of Lancaster, Hereford, and the Confederated Barons to London, to oblige the King to banish the Spencers: These Barons were all cloath'd in Green, except their Right-hand, which was Yellow, to distinguish themselves from the Court Party, or rather the Favourites Faction, which was forc'd to submit; and the King, by an Edict, publish'd in Westminster-hall, by the Earl of Hereford, banish'd the Spencers the Kingdom. The Confederated Barons, notwithstanding this Success, could not long maintain their Ground, yet they observ'd no Measures with the Court, shutting the Queen out of the Castle of Leeds in Kent, where she would have lodg'd, which made her and all her Friends their Enemies. Whether she had taken the Lord Mortimer into that Number then, or not, we do not find in History, but 'tis certain she was so provok'd at this Affront, that 'twas at her Instigation the King broke the Agreement with the Barons, took the Castle of Leeds, and march'd with an Army against them.

The Lord Mortimer now left the Confederate Lords, and fell in with the Court Party, one of the Chief of which was Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, a Man of more Reputation than Parts, of more Quality than Merit, and, 'tis said, it was by his Persuasions and Promises that the two Mortimers left the Barons Side, and embrac'd the Favourites, who were return'd to Court: Where, however, the Lord Pembroke had so little Credit, he could not prevent the sending both the Mortimers to Prison. The Younger Spencer never forgave the Opposition he had met with from the Lord Roger Mortimer in Wales, and had he not got out of his Power by a Stratagem, his Life had paid for't.

The manner of his Escape out of the Tower, where he was confin'd, is variously related: Some Authors tell us that Queen Isabella, began to look favourably on him, that she convey'd a Sleepy Mixture into the Warders Wine, brib'd the Man who was appointed to observe him, and thus

he past the Guards. Others, who seem to have less of Romance in their Relation, write, that he himself being inform'd, the two Spencers resolv'd to have him executed for High-Treason, made an Entertainment for Sir Stephen de Segrave, then Constable of the Tower, gave him a Dose, which had the same Effect on him, the Wine is said to have had on his Warders; and getting out of his Room by the Help of a Cord, and the Assistance of Gerard de Alspath, his immediate Keeper, he found means to convey himself not only out of the Tower, but out of the Kingdoms to the Court of France, whither the Queen had been sent to accommodate matters with her Brother, Charles the Fair, who had seiz'd on part of King Edward's Territories there, for the King's refusing to do him Homage. The Queen succeeded so well in her Negotiations, that the Difference was made up, upon Condition her Son Edward, Prince of Wales, should have the Duchy of Aquitain assign'd him, and do Homage for it. Accordingly he was sent to France, and was most welcome to his Mother, who had now all at that Court she held most dear, *her Lover, and her Son.*

Mortimer's Favours from the Queen were too visible to be kept a Secret; and the Affronts she had receiv'd from the Spencers, made her the more susceptible of the ill Impressions Mortimer might give her of them. Her Love to him was sufficient to have animated her against his Enemies. But she had also a Quarrel of her own, and a Spirit as well prepar'd for Vengeance, as those that hated the Minions could wish.

The Spencers, *as all Favourites are apt to do*, thought themselves so well settled in their Ministry, by the King's Friendship, that they kept no Terms, even with the Queen, whom they treated with Neglect and Disdain: They less'n'd her Attendance and Maintenance: They sent her to France in an ill Humour, with a poor Equipage and short Allowance, believing themselves in full Security. *Such Men, says Sir Robert Howard, so constantly guided by pleasing Weaknesses, might not discern the Queen might be a dangerous Instrument to employ, that had been so disoblig'd; but commonly those that do Injuries, are the least apprehensive that they will be remember'd: Or, commonly having no Fear of those they oppress; they never consider the future Possibility of Revenge. But if they apprehend Damage in the Queen's going, yet they chose the least Evil, nothing appearing so terrible, as parting with the King.* THe

The Share Mortimer had in the future Revolution, made it necessary for us to give this Light into the Causes of it. As soon as the King and his Favourites knew he had made his Escape, after a diligent, though fruitless Search for him, Orders were immediately dispatch'd to the Governor of Guienne, and Constable of Bourdeaux, to seize and confine him if he was found within their Jurisdictions. The like Precepts were sent to all the Sheriffs of England, and Bailiffs of the Sea-Ports. Hue and Cry was also rais'd to take him dead or alive, for the Minions dreaded his Activity, Ambition and Resentment; especially now by the Queen's Favour he had an Access of Power, which, considering how much their Male-Administration had broken the King's Interest, was like to be more than a Match for their own. When they could not get him into their Possession, they exercis'd their Revenge on his Family, shutting up his Wife and Children in Skipton Castle in Craven, depriving her of the Attendance of her Domesticks, allowing her only one Woman, a Gentleman, a Laundress, Groom and Page; which is taken notice of by Historians as a great Punishment. John de Ripre was Constable of the Castle, and was allow'd no more than a Mark each Day for her and her Servants Subsistence, as well in her Journey as Confinement. For her Cloaths Dugdale is so particular, as to mention her Allowance of Ten Marks a Year only. Her Daughters were confin'd to several Nunneries, and nothing but Disgrace and Ruin threaten'd the whole Family of Mortimer: When, by a sudden Turn, it rose again in the Fortune of this Lord, and not many Reigns after, produc'd an Heir to the Crown of England.

'Tis the Nature of Favourites, in Fear to attempt to preserve themselves, rather by Cruelty than Moderation. Loath they are to humble themselves to others, while they have the *Prince in Subjection*; and Mortimer being thus a new provok'd by the Spencers, and encourag'd by his *Mistress's Smiles*, put her, as soon as she had her Son with her, on contriving how to right herself and him by Force. The Bishop of Exeter, who attended the Prince to France, discover'd their Intrigues, and inform'd the King of it, having secretly left the Court of France for that purpose. The Queen and Prince were presently summon'd into England; but, as Sir Robert says in his History, *She was stay'd by the most powerful Causes, Love and Revenge: For she that now seem'd free*
from

from all Ties to her King and Husband, plac'd her loose Affections on Roger Mortimer: She knew England could neither be safe to her, nor him, whom she lov'd as herself; and therefore resolv'd to trust to any Thing rather than her Husband and the Spencers.

But there are some Histories which do not agree entirely with this; informing us that Mortimer did not escape out of the Tower by Stratagem, but by the Mediation of his Uncle, Sir Roger Mortimer, who had made his Peace with the Spencers. But the best Historians relate the Fact as I have done; and 'tis more likely that he fled to France to save his Life, than to follow the Queen, who had not yet discover'd that guilty Hatred to her Husband, and Passion for himself. For her Disobedience she and the Prince were declar'd Enemies to the Kingdom: It being the constant Stile of Favourites to denominate their own Enemies the Kingdom's. Thus the best Friends it has, often lie under that wicked Appellation; and the highest Quality cannot secure those who are hated by Men in Favour, from the Ignominy of Treason. All that adher'd to the Queen and Prince were banish'd by Proclamation thro' all the Counties of England, And 1000*l.* Reward was promised to any one that should bring the Body of Mortimer dead or alive.

The disaffected Lords in France, to enflame the Queen the more, frighten her with a Plot to murder her and the Prince. 'Tis certain the King and his Minions were treating with the French King to deliver up his Sister, her Gallant, Mortimer, and all the English Noblemen who had resorted to her. Among whom were Edmund Earl of Kent, the King's Brother, who had been sent to Gascoigne to defend that Province, before the Accommodation, and Aymer Earl of Pembroke. The Queen to prevent her Brother's intended Treachery, flies with her Paramour, the Lord Mortimer, and her Followers, to the Count of Haynault for Protection, to whose Daughter Philippa she contracted her Son, and procur'd Assistance from him and the Count of Holland, both of Men and Money, to return to England and remove the Spencers from the Ministry. Thus supply'd, she set sail with her belov'd Mortimer; and landing at Harwich, was join'd by several Lords Spiritual and Temporal, Knights, Gentlemen and others. Which so alarm'd the King and his Minions, that they fled to the West, and were follow'd by the Queen and her Army, which was now too strong for them. At Oxford the Bishop of Hereford

Ford preach'd on that Text, *My Head aketh, My Head aketh*; and his Application had in it more execrable Doctrine, than ever was utter'd before our late Schismatical Regicides. The Bishop of Lincoln, and the Clergy, declar'd also for the Queen; and not a Word of Passive-Obedience or Non-Resistance was heard, to put a Stop to hers and the Prince's Progress. The Queen, to revenge the proscribing Mortimer's Head, did the same by the Spencers, promising a Reward of 2000 Pounds for the younger's. In the mean time, the King fled to the Isle of Lundy in the Severn Sea, and thence into Glamorganshire, where he hid himself in the Abbey of Neath. Here he was sometime after surpriz'd and deliver'd to Henry, Earl of Lancaster, Son of Thomas, whom he had beheaded. This Earl brought him and the younger Spencer to the Queen at Hereford, where she kept her Court. And here Spencer the Son, Earl of Gloucester, was hang'd, as his Father, Earl of Winchester, had been before at Bristol.

Here it was also that the Earl of Arundel was beheaded, by the Procurement of the Lord Mortimer; who, as we have already said, had possess'd himself of his Castle of Clonne; it being an old Practice in Favourites, to make Riches criminal, when they covet or want them. The same Fate, and at the Insigation of Mortimer, had two other Barons, Dangle and Michelder of the King's Party.

Now it was that this Lord govern'd the Queen's Affections and Affairs. Honours and Places are heap'd upon him, and the best Families in England court his Alliance. He was made Governour of Denbeigh-Castle; and when Prince Edward was elected King in the room of his Father, among the Knights that were made at the new King's Coronation, were his three Sons, Edmund, Roger and Jeffrey. His Daughters were marry'd to the Sons of the greatest Barons: As Beatrix, to Edward Son of Thomas de Brotherton Earl of Norfolk, Marshal of England, and the King's Uncle; and Agnes, to the Son and Heir of the Lord Hastings.

We find that this extraordinary Revolution was approv'd of by the Spiritual as well as Temporal Barons. Sir Robert Howard tells it thus: "It was adjudg'd that Edward II. (A. D. 1326.) was no longer fit to wear the Crown; and for his Male-Administration of the Royal Authority, was therefore deposed, and his Son to be elected King. To this the Bishops consented, and the Arch Bishop of Canterbury preach'd on the Occasion, choosing a proper Text, *Vox Populi, Vox Dei*. (I shall continue my History in

in the Words of the same honourable Author) " The Queen
 " now with her beloved Mortimer, with the Advice of
 " her Great Counsellor Adam de Orlton, Bishop of Hereford,
 " assum'd the Exercise of all Power, and quickly shew'd
 " what a counterfeit Sorrow for her unfortunate Husband
 " she try'd to disguise herself in; for she now allow'd him
 " but 100 Marks a Year, while she procur'd a Third Part
 " of the Revenue to be settled on herself; and Mortimer,
 " the *Worst of Men*, by her guilty Passion, seem'd to reign.
 " But in a little time his Actions met with that just Punish-
 " ment that was due to them." He was so conscious of his
 own Guilt, that he got a Pardon to be past for his breaking
 Prison and other Offences in the preceding Reign. Daniel
 observes, That to uphold this Change, an Expedition was un-
 dertaken for Scotland. The Scots were advanc'd as far as
 Stanhope-Park: The English Army was thrice as nume-
 rous; yet, says the Historian, by the Treason of some great
 Men, the Enemy escap'd, and nothing was done. Which
 Treason is chiefly imputed to Mortimer, whom the Queen
 now doated on so much, that she refus'd to see her Husband.
She had been so possess'd by a fond Passion for Mortimer, says Sir
Robert, that all Duty and Vertue were long before sacrific'd to
that Idol; and her Husband was as much her Apprehension as
Aversion. Mortimer, also as wickedly jealous, thought him-
self never safe while the King liv'd; nor could they be ignorant
of the Murmurs against their scandalous Course of Life, and that
the hard Usage of the King proceeded from thence; which urg'd
them to the cruel Opinion, that his Death was their only Secu-
 rity. Accordingly it was soon after effected at Berkley-Castle,
 by the Lord Matrevers and Sir Thomas Gourney; who,
 tho' they did it by Commission, thought themselves not safe
 while they were in England.

There was nothing now to disturb the Queen and her
 Minion in the Enjoyment of their lawless Loves and Power.
 Mortimer was made an Earl, and he took the Marches of
 Wales for his Title, which gave rise to the Royal Earldom
 of March, it being afterwards in the Crown, as on the Ad-
 vancement of Edward IV. who descended from this Mor-
 timer, to the Throne. I have seen a Fragment of Ben
 Johnson's, wherein Mortimer is introduc'd speaking on his
 being created an Earl; and there is something in the Soli-
 loquy which is worth remembering.

This Rise is made — yet! and we now stand rank'd,
 To view about us, all that were above us!

Nought

Nought hinders now our Prospect, all are even,
 We walk upon a Level, *Mortimer*
 Is a great Lord of late, and a new Thing?
 At what a divers Price do divers Men
 Ask the same Things? Another might have had
 Perhaps the Hurdle, or at least the Ax,
 For what I have this Coronet, Robes and Wax.
 There is a Fate that flies with tow'ring Spirits
 Home to the Mark, and never checks at Conscience.
 Poor plodding Priests, and preaching Fryers may
 Their hollow Pulpits, and their empty Isles
 Of Churches ring with that round Word — But we make
 That draw the subtle and more piercing Air,
 In that sublimed Region of a Court,
 Know all is good *We Make So*, and go on
 Secur'd by the Prosperity of our Crimes.
 To Day is *Mortimer* made Earl — For what?
 For that, &c. &c. &c.

As his Estate before his Creation was not great, however
 he had increas'd it, answerable to his new Title, he gets good
 Grants apace, as in Consideration of a Promise of 1000 l. a
 Year from the King, a Grant in Fee of the Castles of Denbigh,
 Oswestre, Shrewderdyne, and Clonne; with the Mannors
 of Rytton, Wroxestre, and Conede, in Shropshire; the Man-
 nor of Chipping-Norton in Oxfordshire: As also other Ca-
 stles, Mannors and Lands, which had been the late Earl of
 Arundel's, who was, as has been said, put to Death by his
 Procurement.

He was at this time at the Highth of his Fortnne, the Ob-
 ject of univserfal Hatred and Envy. Those that courted him
 for his *Favour*, abhorring him for his *Cruelty* and *Ambi-
 tion*. He was not content with the Title of Earl of the
 Marches, he got himself to be made Justice of all Wales
 (A. D. 1328.) resolving that his own Country should be
 one of the chief Scenes of his Pride. He had the Vanity to
 imitate the British Kings, and held a Round Table at Bed-
 ford. The King taking a Progress into the Marches, so or-
 der'd, perhaps, to give his Mother the Pleasure of viewing a
 Territory of which her Lover was Lord; here Mortimer
 magnificently treated the whole Court in his Castles of
 Ludlow and Wigmore, as also in his Forests and Parks. He
 was besides at a great Expence in Tilts and other Exercises,
 for which he did not think the King made him due Returns.
 Indeed,

Indeed, the young Monarch had receiv'd some evil Impressions of him from those who wish'd well to their Country; as the Earls of Exeter and Leicester, the Lord Mountacute, Sir Robert Holland, Sir Thomas de la More, and others. The latter was a Knight of Gloucestershire, and wrote the Life of Edward II. whose Servant he had been. Mortimer being thus posses'd of the Queen's boundless Favour, of vast Revenues, and absolute Power, grew intollerably proud, giving Occasion of Discontent to the ancient Nobility by his Behaviour and Ministry.

His own Family was so disgusted at his Pride, that 'tis said his Son Jeffry stil'd him *The King of Folly*. He kept another Round Table in Wales, thinking he had as much Right to the Honours, as the Authority of the Kings of Britain. The same Year, at a Parliament held at Northampton, his Interest was so great, that an infamous Peace was made with the Scots, and a Sum of Money taken by the Queen and him, for which the Scots Homage was traiterously deliver'd up, as was likewise the Black Cross, which King Edward I. brought out of Scotland from the Abbey of Scone; where it had been long deposited as a most valuable Relick, with these were deliver'd Ragman Role, and many ancient Jewels and Monuments.

Mortimer looking on Edmund, Earl of Kent, the King's Uncle, as an Obstacle to his ambitious Designs, had him try'd and condemn'd at a Parliament held at Winchester the same Year, for contriving, as it was pretended, his Brother Edward II's Restoration, tho' without any manner of Proof or Probability; but the Majority of those two Parliaments were on his Side, and he stuck at nothing to secure himself in his high Station, to satisfy his Pride, or glut his Revenge. But this hated Majority was of no long Continuance; and the Favourite Mortimer was become so Imperious and Insolent, so Covetous and Cruel, the Barons could no longer bear his Tyranny: All the Treasure of England was at his Command, and he wastel it on himself and his Creatures; For his Avarice had a Mixture of Profusion, and he was always liberal enough when it was to serve his Pride or his Vanity. Henry Earl of Lancaster, Brother to Earl Thomas who was beheaded in the last Reign, was the First Prince of the Blood, and the Kingdom began to be uneasy to find he had no Share in the Government, tho' the Parliament that elected the King had appointed him to be Chief of the Ministers, who were to have the Administration under the
C Queen

Queen during the King's Minority ; him Mortimer intend-
ed to deal with as he had dealt by the Earl of Kent ; but the
Earl of Lancaster got Information of his Purpose, and made
his Escape. Mortimer follows him, taking with him the
young King, whom he oblig'd to ride 24 Miles in one Day
after his Kinsman, at which the King was very much dis-
pleas'd ; and it made way for the terrible Revolution which
happen'd to the Favourite.

Favourites have generally taken too much Care to im-
prove their *Good Fortune*, by acquiring *Gifts* and *Grants* of
their Masters: And those that have done it *too hastily*, or
too profusely, have *never fail'd* to draw on themselves the
Ruin which attends such *undeserv'd Acquisitions*. Morti-
mer continued to get more and more of the Crown and
other Lands into his Possession, having obtain'd Grants of
the Castle and Manor of Hemtley, the Chaces of Malvern
and Corfe in Worcestershire and Gloucestershire ; the Town
of Wiche, in Worcestershire ; the Castle of Clifford, and
Manor of Glasebury, which had been the younger Spen-
cers ; the Castle of Trim in Ireland to himself and his
Wife, with ample Privileges ; the Territory of Danal-
maine in Ireland, with large Jurisdiction ; his Son Jeffry
had also a Grant of Donyngton-Castle, in Leicestershire ;
the Manors of Lechdale and Sodyngtone, in Gloucester-
shire ; the Manor of Woking, in Surrey ; Byely and Ca-
stre, in Lincolnshire ; Ashburn, in the Peak of Derby ;
Ryhale, in Rutlandshire ; and Kineley, in Wiltshire, which
was the Estate of the King's Uncle, the late Earl of Kent.

We may by this observe, that he thirsted as much after
the Possessions, as the Blood of those whom he had caus'd
to be put to Death ; as the Earl of Arundel, the Earl of
Gloucester, and Earl of Kent. To these Grants were ad-
ded those of the Wapentake of Rysely in Derbyshire ; the
Wapentake of Plumtree and Alreton, in Norfolk ; the
Manor of Relsby, in Leicestershire ; and Drayton, in the
County of Northampton.

Such Territories as these, gotten by such means, could
not but provoke both Barons and Commons ; and it was
impossible he could hold them long, when so many had
been injur'd and offended by his obtaining them. His pa-
ternal Estate had been very indifferent ; his Alliance nor
very extraordinary ; nor his Family much talk'd of: To
rise so fast, and without having merited it by his Service,
was of itself enough to set the Nobility against him ; and
the

the Queen's boundless Favour, his unreasonable Grants, the Pride of his Nature, and his Contempt of those he had humbled, gave them an Opportunity to encrease the *Publick* Odium against him, and secretly to work his Overthrow. I have seen a Tragedy dedicated to the late Earl of *Romney*, entitl'd, *The Fall of Mortimer* *; which, though written by a mean Pen, has, however, touch'd upon some Parts of the Story, in a manner that recommends it to the Reader, As where the Lord *Mountacute* hectors him, and tells him :

Ld. Mountacute. Thy Terrors last on me.
Look big upon those Bastard *Englishmen*,
Who tamely yield their Rights and Charters up,
And swear to pick a Parliament,
Shall sell our Freedoms, Persons and Estates,
To gain a short-liv'd Smile,
They probably may dread Thee.

And in another Place;

Sir Rob. Holland. He's rather a Meteor, or some Ex-
halation,
Rais'd by the Sulphureous Vapours of the Earth,
Which borrowing of a Blaze from real Lights,
Attracts the Eyes of Fools to gaze on it.

And,

Sir T. De la More. Where now is Right? ——— To
whom shall we appeal?

The Queen has plac'd the Pow'r on *Mortimer*,
Whilst the Law's Edge is ground but on one Side;
The Man that dares reflect on his Proceedings,
Is streight beset, and sworn into some Plot;
His Life or Fortune's seiz'd; it may be both,
Juries and Witnesses are kept in Pay,
Which have agreed his Ruin e'er he's heard.

Ld. Mount. What are our Princes; what the Nobles
now?

Are they not Vassals to this Upstart's State?
No more the Fame of our Nobility
Be call'd to Mind, &c. ———

King. Rise, *De la More*, for I will be my self,
And this Usurper *March* shall down to Hell.

C 2

ALL

* This Tragedy has been lately reviv'd, and receiv'd with Universal Applause, though it labour'd under the Disadvantages of not being improv'd from the old Edition, play'd at an obscure Theatre, and by different, obscure Actors.

All spare the Tree, whose Branches serve as Shade,
 Till the spread Mischief kills the under Plants;
 Then ev'ry Man assists to fell it down:
 So this *Colossus* of the *English* Isle,
 Under whose Legs the tallest Ships must pass,
 E'er they gain Harbour, shall to Seas be hurl'd,
 And in their Bottom find a Monument.

Though the Poet's Genius be not answerable to the Subject, yet there's something in his Scenes resembling the Character of Mortimer, which is well worth preserving. The Lord Mountacute, whom the Poet makes to speak, was Sir William de Mountacute, whom Edward III. employ'd to seize Mortimer.

When after his faithful Counsellors had represented to him the Dishonour he brought on himself and his People, he order'd him to be apprehended in the Castle of Nottingham, in the Year 1329. At which time a Parliament was held in that Town. His Power was so excessive, that 'twas thought the most prudent way to secure his Person first, and then Impeach him in Parliament. The Person entrusted with this Commission, was the above-mention'd Sir William de Mountacute, who took to his Assistance Sir Humphry de Bohun, Sir Ralph de Stafford, Sir William de Clinton, Sir John Neville, Sir William Eland, and others, who in the dead time of the Night got into the Castle by a way under ground, which pass'd thro' the Rock, with Stairs up to the Keep. By this Passage they enter'd a Room that was contiguous to the Queen's Apartment, where the King expected them, whom they left there, and entering the Queen's Bed-Chamber, found her and Mortimer ready to go to Bed. They seiz'd Mortimer immediately, and leading him out, the Queen follow'd, crying, *Bell Eills ayes pitie du gentil Mortimer*. Good Son, take Pity on gentle Mortimer; for she imagin'd the King her Son was among them. This was not done without Bloodshed, according to Knighton; who writes, That Mortimer having with him Henry Bishop of Lincoln, and some others, they made Resistance, wherein two of Mortimer's Dependants and Creatures were kill'd, as Sir Hugh de Turpin, Steward of the King's House, and John de Monmouth; for which Sir William de Mountacute had afterwards a Pardon. The seizing of Mortimer had not been so easy, had it not been done by Surprise, for he always had about 200 Knights and Gentlemen, besides inferiour Servants, attending on him.

As soon as he was seiz'd, his Adherents and Followers, of which the Town of Nottingham was full, had the same Fate; among these were his Sons Sir Edmund and Sir Jeffry Mortimer, who were all sent to London under a Guard, and there kept in Custody till the Parliament met. Precepts were issued out for seizing all his Castles, Lands and Manors; a Commission was granted to Sir John de Kingston, and others, to take an Inventory of all his Treasures and Goods, except what was in his Wife's Wardrobe, for the use of herself, her Children and Servants.

When the Parliament met, they took from the Queen all her large Dower, and allow'd her only a Pension of 1000 l. a Year. Several Articles were exhibited against Mortimer: *As that he procur'd the late King's Death; was Author of the Scots Escape at Stanhope-Park, corrupted with the Gift of 20,000 l. that he procur'd the Marriage and Peace with Scotland, so dishonourable to the King and Kingdom; that he consum'd the King's Treasure, besides all that was taken from the Spencers; that he had been too familiar with the Queen; that he had got the Richest Wardships in England; and had been an Evil Counsellor to the King.* The King commanded the Barons to consider of these Articles, and to give Judgment; which they did, finding Mortimer guilty of all of them; and Sentence was pronounc'd against him to die as a Traytor; pursuant to which he was hang'd, drawn and quarter'd (A. D. 1329.) at the Common Gallows, then call'd Elms, in West-Smithfield, where his Body remain'd two Days, as an opprobrious Spectacle for all Beholders. Upon which I cannot omit relating a Reflection of that judicious Historian Daniel; *Such were the tragical and bloody Returns those ambitious Supplanters of others got by Exchange of the Time.*

Mortimer's Body, when it had hung thus two Days, was taken down, and bury'd at Grey-Friars in London, but many Years after translated to Wigmore. 'Tis remarkable that Judgment, Sentence, and Execution, pass'd on this Earl without being heard, as had been practis'd in the ill times when he was Master, against the Spencers and the Earl of Kent, in whose Death it was notoriously known, he himself had the greatest Hand.

— *Nec lex est justior ulla
Quam necis Artifices arte perire sua.*

Such was the Fate of a Minister and Favourite, the first of the House of Mortimer, which owes its Grandure to him:
For,

For, notwithstanding his Grants were resum'd, so much was either restor'd to his Son, or left of his Lands to him and his Mother, that Edmund, the Grandson of this Lord Mortimer, marry'd Philippa, Daughter to Lionel Duke of Clarence, by whom he had Roger, Lord Mortimer, and Earl of March, proclaim'd Heir to the Crown by Richard II. Which Roger had a Daughter nam'd Anne, marry'd to Richard Earl of Cambridge, Son of Edmund of Langley, Duke of York, Grand-father of Edward IV. King of England: And thus came the Name of Mortimer ally'd to the Imperial Crown of this Kingdom, after the first Earl of it had come to so ignominious an End, as to die the Death of a common Malefactor, as aforesaid.

As I have now finish'd the History of one Prime Minister, I think it necessary to speak next of Robert Earl of Oxford, he being Chief Minister in one Reign, as was Mortimer in the other, and both till their Fall.

The Family of De Vere, who for above Twenty Generations were Earls of Oxford, are of no older Date in England, than the Conquest; and the first of them who is taken notice of in History, was Aubrey de Vere, in King Stephen's and Henry II's Time: He was a famous Lawyer, and for his Days a Man of eminent Learning. The De Veres, make, however, no great Figure in the English History, till the surprizing Rise of Robert De Vere, whose Life I shall attempt to write.

He was the Son of Thomas De Vere, the 8th Earl of Oxford, of this Family, and born in the Year 1362. the 37th of Edward III. so that he was but three Years older than King Richard II. Son to Edward the Black Prince, and Grandson and Heir to King Edward III. Tho' the Parliament had appointed Thomas Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, to be Tutor to the King, yet the young Earl of Oxford, and some other Lords of dissolute Life, so won upon his Affections, that he early gave himself up to their Government, and soon made his own *uneasy to his People*.

De Vere was high in the King's Favour in the 6th Year of his Reign (*A. D. 1383.*) when he made Proof of his Age, did Homage, and had Livery of his Lands given him. His Marriage had been granted by King Edward III. to Ingelram Earl of Bedford, to the intent that he might take to Wife Philippa, Daughter to that Earl, which he did accordingly; and even while he was in Ward, he had 100*l.* a Year allow'd him, for his better Support, out of the Exchequer.

King

King Richard, who lov'd him to Excess, and thought he could never do too much before, gave him a Grant of the Estate of John de Coupland, and the Castle of *Queer* borough in Kent. Indeed his Influence was so great in all that King's Administration, that he could do what he pleas'd. Those that shar'd the King's Affections and Power with him, were Neville, Archbishop of York, Michael de la Poole, a Citizen's Son, Earl of Suffolk, Sir Robert Tresilian, Lord Chief Justice, and Sir Nicholas Bramber, Alderman of London: Of these Sir Robert Howard says, *The Earl of Oxford seem'd the best, as hardly he could do otherwise, being set with such Foils.* And a little after, *The first Testimony that these shew'd of their Animosities against the Methods of a just Minister, was the displacing Sir Richard Scrope, Lord Chancellor, who in all things us'd an impartial Uprightness, which was an Offence to their loose and partial Designs.* But they did not only sharpen the King's Nature against Men in point of Offices and Employments, but against their Lives. There are seldom, continues he, any extream Proceeding in a Government, but there are deprav'd Persons enough in all Conditions, ready to swim with the Stream, and take the Benefit of any Side of Fortune. For when Mischief is to be practis'd, Corruption is the Consequence; and there are always those ready, whom no Consideration ballances in their Natures, with the Height of Honours and Benefits. During their careless Ministry, the French insulted the Coasts, and landed at Dover, Winchelsea, Hastings, and even at Gravesend. The Rabble, provok'd by many Exactions, rose under John Ball, a factious Priest, of less Infamy than one with whose Name I will not dishonour this History. And tho' the King and his Favourites were in much Danger from this Rebellion, yet after it was suppress'd, neither he nor they seem'd to have any Disposition to redress the People's Grievances. Oxford, and his Ministers, both fear'd and hated any Men of Honour and Quality that might have Interest to cross their Designs. The Favourites, flush'd with their Success over the Rebels, assum'd new Titles and Dignities, and particularly Robert de Vere, Earl of Oxford, was created Marquis of Dublin. On his and his Friends Promotion to new Honours, Trussel reflects thus: *They grew in Hate, as they did in Honour, for many of Ancient Nobility did stomach their undeserv'd Advancement, and with these the Votes of the People generally went.* However, the Earl of Oxford, as if he took a Pleasure in encreasing the Hatred and Envy of his Enemies, and did it on purpose to mortify them

them, a few Months after got himself to be created Duke of Ireland. To accompany these Honours, the Castle of Okeham in Rutlandshire, and all the Forest of Rutland, were given him; as also the Castle, Manor, and Burrough of Barnstable; the Manors of Fremingham, Jefracomb, Comb-Martin, South-Moulton, Holdsworth, Nemel-Bow, Bovy-Tracy, Holne, Dertington, Kingston, Blockden, Lang-Acre; and all the Lands of James de Andeleigh, in the Counties of Cornwall, Devonshire, and Somerset. But not content with this, he had the Arrogance and Indiscretion to procure the most unaccountable Grant that ever Prince gave his Subject, being no less than the Lands and Dominion of a whole Kingdom, that of Ireland, which were given him, with *all the Profits, &c. as amply, and in as full Extent, as the King himself ought to have the same.* Nor did even all this bound his Ambition and Avarice; for Charles de Blois, who laid Claim to the Dutchy of Bretagne, and had been long a Prisoner in England, was, tho' a profess'd Enemy to the House of Montfort, then in Possession of that Dutchy, and under the Protection of England, set at Liberty on paying 30000 Marks to the Duke of Ireland, with which, 'twas pretended, he was to raise and pay 500 Horse and 1000 Foot in Ireland; the King promising not only to send him thither, but that he should stay there. The Parliament consented to this Donation, being very willing to purchase at any Rate the Absence of so dangerous a Minister. The Parliament had before got the Earl of Suffolk remov'd; but they were scarce broke up, before both the Duke of Ireland and Suffolk return'd to Court, and reign'd there more absolutely than ever. All the great Lords, who had been instrumental in their Removal, were discarded. The Favourites and their Faction once more engross the Royal Authority, leaving only the Name to the King, and turn'd out every body that had appear'd for the King's true Service, and the Good of their Country. Upon which Sir Robert has this Reflection: *This look'd like the feeble Policy of violent and self-interested Counsellors, which was apply'd to Men, and not Things; as if the Removal of those that oppos'd their Designs, took away the Danger that attended them. As long as there were injur'd Men, they must have Enemies; and their Safety was no way probable, but by better Principles and Practices.* The Men who manag'd all, now these were disgrac'd, were, as has been said, the Earl of Oxford, the Chancellor, and the Archbishop of York; who, says Sir Robert

Robert Howard, join'd with them to strengthen their Power, and weaken their Kings. What follows will, I am sure, be welcome to the Reader, coming from so excellent a Pen: They that had Influence enough to make a Prince believe their Cause to be his, might easily carry him on to revenge those Affronts he now assum'd to be his own. To this belongs the same Fate that attends indirect and unsteady Councils. They must be maintain'd by the Oppression or Ruin of those that suffer'd by them, and no Measure taken for the Preservation of any, but theirs that merited the Punishment. The Argument that was and must be us'd to deceive Princes, was then enforc'd by these Favourite Ministers; That the Arrows shot at them were intended against the Prince; and 'twas but a Method of Rebellion, to confine a King on whom to confer his Favour. And therefore to avoid the Dishonour of a Limited Monarchy, he must now use Power, &c.

About this time (1378.) the Earls of Arundel and Nottingham perform'd so many brave Actions abroad against the French, that all Mouths were filled with just Praises, The King only excepted, says my honourable Author, to whom Satisfaction did most belong. For at their return they found so cold a Reception from him, that it seem'd they were rather forgiven for Misdemeanours, than receiv'd for Merits. The strangeness of his Words told too plainly that publick Merit lost its Nature, when the Desert was in the Enemies of his Favourites. How much more Limited, continues he, is a King by such as confine him to their narrow Interest? He must neither reward Vertue, nor punish Vice: His best and bravest Subjects must not be esteem'd, nor his Worst question'd or punish'd. The Usage of such Illustrious Lords, who have done great Services against the common Enemy could not but give new Occasion of Disgust against the Ministers, yet De Vere so little valu'd the Hate of either the Nobility or Commonalty, that he defy'd them in all his Actions; and in the midst of their Clamours, had the Insolence to turn off his Fair Lady Philippa, tho' her Mother was the King's Aunt, and marry a Vintner's Daughter, a Match better suited to his Merit than his Fortune. The Duke of Gloucester, the King's and her Uncle, threatned him with Revenge; but it only animated him to hasten the Destruction of that Noble Prince, who had in all this tyrannical Reign been the Bulwark of the English Liberties. Whether King Richard was pleas'd with this Match, because the Woman came with his Queen from Bohemia, or could not be displeas'd with any thing that

that pleas'd his Minion ; he was so far from shewing Re-
 sentment, that the Duke of Ireland govern'd him and his
 Kingdom as entirely as ever : Yet in seeming Compliance
 with the Desires of the People, the Duke made mighty Pre-
 parations for his Voyage to Ireland, which was put off
 from time to time under various Pretences. At last, when
 he thought he should not be able any longer to defer it with-
 out involving the King, himself, and the Ministers, in a
 Quarrel with the Parliament, before they were provided for
 it : He gave out, that he would depart ; accordingly he
 made a Shew of proceeding in his Journey to the Coast,
 where he was to embark ; and so little were the King and
 Court solicitous to observe any Measures with the People,
 that they accompany'd him in great State ; the King, the
 Earl of Suffolk, their Lawyer Tresilian, and the Chiefs of
 the Faction going with him as far as Wales, where the Royal
 Progress, and the Duke's Irish Journey ended ; for they
 turn'd about and went to Nottingham : At which Place
 this Black Cable of Ministers enter'd into a Consultation,
 how to destroy not only the Lords of the *Kuin'd Party*, but
 the *English* Constitution. They first summon'd the Sheriffs
 of every Country, to know what Assistance they could give
 them ; but they were answer'd, *The People were very much*
satisfy'd in their Opinions, that the Lords were Lovers of their
King and Country ; and therefore they durst promise nothing in
that Matter. The disgrac'd Lords were the Duke of Glou-
 cester, the Earls of Arundel, Warwick, Derby, and Notting-
 ham, and others of the highest Quality and Interest, who
 were too powerful to be destroy'd without the Parliament
 agreed to it, or the Cable had a Force Superiour to theirs.
 Wherefore being balk'd as to that, *The Tryal*, says my Au-
 thor, *was then made to pack a Parliament, by contriving Ele-*
ctions as the King should appoint. Which they could not ef-
 fect ; and despairing of their pack'd Majority, the only re-
 course they could have was to the Judges, who were sum-
 mon'd to Nottingham, to give an Answer to several Que-
 ries put to them by the Ministers. For in all bad times ill
 Judges have been found ready to subject the Laws to the
 Pleasure of the Court. Did not a Set of them declare Ship-
 Money to be Legal in the Reign of Charles I ? And another
 Set pronounce the Dispensing Power to be the same in that
 of King James II. But these Judges, in Complacency to the
 Earl of Oxford and his Faction, gave their Opinions, That
 every thing that had been done against the King's Favour-
 rites

rites was High Treason. What Sir Robert Howard writes on this Occasion is worth repeating, as shewing how in all times wicked Lawyvers have sacrific'd their Learning and Honesty to their Interest, and made the Will of the Prince to be the Measure of Justice. *There was one thing also very remarkable, says that noble Author, that the Lawyvers, who in former Parliaments gave their Advice and Opinions for the Proceedings against the Ministers, being afterwards, when the Power turn'd to the King, ask'd, Whether by Law the King could not disanul the Proceedings of that Parliament? Readily recanting their former Opinions, answer'd, That he might; the King being above the Law: A Maxim very much us'd in the late times, and must be always when Arbitrary Power is design'd.* The Judges were very clear in the Points they were to discuss, for they determin'd all to be Treason, and the Offenders worthy the Death of Traytors, tho' by this bold Opinion, the Parliament were the Traytors, and the Statute-Law the Treason. They declar'd that *Parliaments could not proceed upon any Business, but such as the King propos'd and limited by Articles. Nor accuse any of the King's Ministers, without incurring the Guilt and Penalty of High-Treason.* Thus had this faithful Minister, this able and honest Politician, who acted by secret and sinister Contrivances, at once overturn'd the Constitution, and destroy'd the Liberties of England, to secure himself and Associates from the Punishment the Law threatened them with.

The King looking upon the Opinions of the Judges as Authentick, presum'd the Lords, his Favourites hated, were convicted Persons, without farther Tryal, and order'd their Estates to be confiscated, resolving to execute the Sentence of Traytors on them, as soon as he could get them within his Power. He rais'd Soldiers, and commanded the Earl of Northumberland to arrest the Earl of Arundel; but the latter had so fortify'd himself in his Castle of Rygate in Surry, that the King's Men were forc'd to leave him where they found him. Things were come now to that Extremity, that it seem'd impossible to avoid a Civil War: But the discontented Lords, to prevent Bloodshed, prevail'd with the Bishop of London, a Prelate of an excellent Temper, to intercede with the King in their Behalf, and that they might be restor'd to his Favour. The Bishop perform'd this Office with his best Skill and Zeal, and so wrought upon the King, that he inclin'd to a more happy Temper. But the Chancellor (*Who, says Sir Robert, hated all Peace and Justice,*

by which he knew he was to have little Benefit; nor could he be probably safe, longer than while he kept his King in Danger), quickly turn'd him aside from all Thoughts of Moderation and Clemency: Upon which the Bishop told him, 'Twas not the Service of his Prince that guided him, but his own violent Ambition; and that rather than the Lords should not be destroy'd, he would involve the Nation in Ruin. Adding, It was easy for such abject Spirits as his to raise Tumults, which must be ended by the Destruction of the Bravest. Nor was he fit to give Advice, who was the Chief Incendiary, and made a Party by his Condemnation. The King was so angry to see his Favourite so roughly handled, that he commanded the Bishop out of his sight. The Lords finding there was no Security for them but in Resistance, take Arms. The Duke of Gloucester, the Earls of Arundle, Warwick, Nottingham, and Derby, rais'd Forces, and met at Haringhay-Park near Highgate, with such a Power as startled the King and his Favourites. And now the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishop of Ely, are sent from Court to the Lords, who for Peace sake agree to lay their Complaints in a dutiful manner before the King at Westminster: But they first oblig'd the Bishop of Ely, whom they knew to be a Man of Honour, to promise to give them Notice, if there was any Danger design'd them: And their Jealousy was not ill-grounded, for Oxford had engag'd some treacherous Aldermen of London in his Party, Men who would stick at nothing to carry their Point: Men of small Estates, and profligate Lives, who had no Interest in the City, but as they were of the Favourites Faction, and could not preserve it but by the wicked Means it was acquir'd, the betraying the Liberty of their Fellow-Subjects.

These Men laid an Ambush in the Mews to seize the Lords as they came to the King, of which they having Intelligence from the Bishop of Ely, fail'd to come. The King wondering at it, ask'd the Bishop the Reason; who boldly answer'd, The Lords durst not trust him, and had discover'd the Trap laid for them: Of which the King seem'd wholly ignorant, and order'd the Sheriffs to search the Mews, and kill or seize all they found conceal'd there. The Sheriffs obey'd his Orders, search'd, but found no body; for tho' the Fact was true, the Place was mistaken; Sir Richard Bramber, and Sir Thomas Trivet, having secretly assembled arm'd Men at Westminster, and finding their Plot discover'd, they as secretly convey'd them away again. It was thought that
Oxford

Oxford and Suffolk apprehended the Action too vile to trust the King with it, tho' they doubted not to get him to approve of it afterwards. *Nor has this been an unusual Method, says Sir Robert, of powerful Ministers and Favourites to contrive Mischief for their Prince to approve. A Prince that is wholly led by such, and wrap'd up in their desperate Counsels and Interest, may scruple at a thing being done, that he cannot when 'tis affected: One is but a Difference in Opinion, the other is a Desertion of his Party; he may be free in the first, but too much involv'd to be at liberty in the latter.* Whether the King knew of this Treason or not, the Truth of it was not question'd; and the Fraud, Revenge and Cruelty of the Earl of Oxford's Nature, made it the more credible.

Far be it from me to affront the Order of the Priesthood; for which, when 'tis not dishonour'd by those that are of it, no Man has a greater Reverence: Yet one cannot, without erring against the Truth of History, omit observing, how often Men of that *Sacred Function* have dip't themselves deep in the Guilt of Arbitrary Princes. And at this Time the Archbishop of York declar'd against all peaceable and moderate Counsels, highly exalting the Royal Power, and telling his Prince, "That Occasion now offer'd to shew himself a King indeed;" by cutting off all the Lords who oppos'd his Tyrannical Government. How much honefter was the Advice of Sir Hugh Linne, a blunt old Cavalier, who follow'd the Court? The King asking him jocularly, What was to be done? Sir Hugh swore, Blood and Wounds, let us charge home, and kill every Mother's Son, and so we shall make quick Dispatch of the best Friends you have in England: Which honest Roughness of this old Soldier, it is said, determin'd the King more to mild Methods, than any grave Counsels of his Bishops.

At last, upon new Faith and Security, the Lords came to the King at Westminster, but with so strong a Guard, that they did not appear like Men who came to submit, or to petition: And they, in his Presence, challeng'd Robert, Earl of Oxford, Duke of Ireland, the Earl of Suffolk, the Archbishop of York, and the Chief Justice Trefilian, as Traytors. The King, at that Time, when his Favourites could not speak, spoke like himself, a King; and with equal Temper and Reason shew'd the Lords, that if all were true they alledg'd, they had not taken the proper way to seek for Justice by a Shew of Rebellion, and give that Opportunity

to the licentious Multitude, which perhaps might prove difficult to take again from them. Thus, after having gently laid before them the more proper way for what they desir'd, he rais'd them from their Knees, and retir'd with them. All this while Oxford and the Favourites kept out of the way; apprehending, as justly they might, the Danger of such powerful and enrag'd Enemies. The King entertain'd the Lords with Wine, and other Refreshments, and all things were referr'd to the Determination of a *Free Parliament*, a Representative chosen by the unanimous *Voice of the People*, impatient for Redress of Grievances, not *influenc'd by Faction Riots*, nor a *Select Majority*, procur'd by Favourites, which Oxford knew would happen, and resolv'd not to venture his Fortune on the severe Judgment of Truth and Justice.

Some are of Opinion, the King himself only temporiz'd and affected Moderation outwardly, while he in secret suffer'd De Vere and his Ministers to take other Measures more agreeable to their Notions of Unlimited Monarchy, of Subjection without Bounds, and Obedience without Reserve; not only to the Prince, but to his Ministers. The Lords did not so entirely confide in the King's Royal Word, as to disperse their Forces, but kept them together to see how it would be perform'd; especially hearing Oxford had left the Court, and was raising Men in Wales and Cheshire, to enable the King to break his Promise, and protect him in Defiance of them all. 'Tis believ'd the King conniv'd at his Escape; and, 'tis reported, he stole away in Disguise, with a Bow and Quiver at his Back, in the Habit of a Servant, with five more in his Company, in the same Accoutrements. Some write, that he fled beyond Sea, and afterwards landed with Forces in England. Others, That he got into Cheshire and Wales, which Parts were most devoted to King Richard's Interest, and there rais'd an Army, with which, had he understood Fighting in the Field, as well as *Tricking in a Court*, he might have been hard enough for all his Enemies. The Lords hearing of his Strength, seiz'd all the Passes to London, and dispatch'd the Earl of Derby (afterwards Hen. IV.) with sufficient Forces to give him Battle. The Earl having made himself Master of the Post of Radcot Bridge in Oxfordshire, De Vere's March was stop'd, and soon after the Earl attack'd him in three places. The Earl's Forces were spirit'd with the Justice of their Cause; the Duke's,

rather

rather a mutinous Rabble, than a regular Army; and had not Sir Thomas Muflineux, Constable of Chester, and a Creature of the Favourites, perswaded him that the Earl of Derby's Forces were not all come up, and himself but a mean unexperienc'd General, Oxford would have fled without Fighting: Encourag'd by that desperate Knight, he display'd the King's Banner, and advanc'd in Person to the Bridge, attempting to force it: A Battle ensu'd upon this, which was of very short Duration; for Oxford's Men, in Imitation of their General, thought of flying more than fighting; himself alighting off his Horse, mounted on a swifter, to secure his Retreat; but finding himself surrounded by the Duke of Gloucester on one Hand, and the Earl of Derby on the other, he quitted his Army, and took the River Isis, which he swam, leaving his Horse in the midst of the Stream, and gaining the other side without it. His Soldiers seeing this, threw down their Arms, and submitted: Sir Thomas Muflineux flying, was met and slain by Sir Thomas Mortimer, his Men were disarm'd and sent home; only the better sort of them remain'd in the Service of the Earl of Derby, who commanded that none that yeilded should be ill us'd, either in Action or Word. For those who fight for their Country are never Insolent on Success. Men that have an ill Cause, and despair of maintaining it long, are always fond of shewing their short-liv'd Mastery, and put it to as bad Uses as they can. Some Historians place this Action not at Radcot-Bridge, but at Babbelake near Burford, the Circumstances too are a little vary'd, but all agree in the Earl of Oxford's Cowardice and Flight. On which my noble Author again says: *He that was so bold in Counsel, shew'd Want of Courage when 'twas most needful, in Action; and fled himself before the Fight was scarce begun.* Among many things taken of his, in one of his Trunks were found Letters from the King, *To hasten his coming to London with what Power he could make, where the King would be ready to share Fortunes with him.* But the time was come, that De Vere was to pay dearly for the Honours and Pleasures of his former Life; and not daring to trust himself to the impotent Favour of his Master, he escap'd in Disguise by Night, first into Scotland, then into Flanders, and lastly into France.

What favour'd his Escape was, a Report that he was slain; for his Arms, Armour and Horse being taken, 'twas generally believ'd he fell in the Battle, or was drown'd in the River;

River: And as it often happens in such Uncertainties, some reported they saw him perish, describing the very manner of it: The Belief of it prevailing, 'twas no hard matter for him to continue his Flight in Disguise, as has been already mention'd.

The Lords marching with their victorious Troops to London, the King thought fit to comply with them for the present, and call a Parliament, wherein Robert, Earl of Oxford, &c. was summon'd to appear, and answer to certain Articles of High-Treason, exhibited against him by the Duke of Gloucester and other Peers. But this was matter of Form only; for they knew he would not trust himself among them, accountable as he was for so many Treasons and Crimes; so he was banish'd, and all his Lands Confiscated, except those, as foreseeing a Storm and a Day of Reckoning, he had secur'd by Entail. His Banishment, Attainder, and Outlawry, were confirm'd by Act of Parliament. He now began to feel the Misfortunes of those fallen Favourites who rose to Power, and maintain'd it by Fraud and Oppression. He was universally neglected and despis'd. In which forlorn Condition he wander'd from Place to Place, till at last he was kill'd by a wild Boar, near Louvain in Flanders, where he had liv'd some time in the last Poverty and Distress: His Fall being as much unpity'd, as his Rise was undeserv'd. Such was his End in the 32d Year of his Age, the 16th of King Richard; *A. D.* 1392.

As to his Character, tho' his Actions speak it sufficiently, yet I shall add what Sir Robert Howard says of it, in his Reflections so often quoted.

" It is a Wonder that such a Man should ever get the
 " Ascendant over a Prince; a Man that was profuse of
 " what he could get; and got it as willingly by the
 " Spoils of others, as by more justifiable Ways. He was
 " unfit for Peace by his turbulent Nature, and wanted
 " Courage to be troublesome in War. In Peace he was
 " furious, in War calm; never quiet but when afraid, at
 " all other times intemperate; when he was not designing
 " Mischief, his Courage fail'd him; he never seem'd
 " good, but when Necessity hinder'd him from being bad;
 " he had no Fits of a Disease, but liv'd in a continu'd
 " Leprosy.

" But we have read of other Precedents, how worth-
 " less Men have scr'd themselves into Princes Favours,
 " by

“ by such Flatteries that generous Tempers could not
 “ creep, to. For ill Men study the Nature of Princes,
 “ good Men their Interest: And that which is most plea-
 “ sant sooner prevails, than that which is most useful.

I should here close my History of De Vere; but having
 spoken so much of De la Poble the Chancellor, I shall also
 insert his Character as 'tis given by *Truffel*.

“ He was a cruel Spoiler, and careless Spender; in War
 “ contemptible, in Peace insupportable: An Enemy to all
 “ Counsel of others, and in his own Conceit wondrously
 “ Wise: Obstinate Contentious: Of a quick Wit, and
 “ ready Speech; both which he abus'd to the commend-
 “ ing himself, and craftily depraving of others: He
 “ was less lov'd, heard as much as the Duke of Ireland;
 “ the more hurtful Man, and the more hateful.

How miserably this Man dy'd abroad too; how Tre-
 filian and his Brother Judges were hang'd, and a Crew of
 ill Councillors driven from Court, may be seen in our
 Histories. Among these were the Bishops of York and
 Durham. Of the latter *Truffel* writes that, “ He was a
 “ Man of little Depth, either in Learning or Judgment;
 “ only one that had the Art of seeming, making a formal
 “ Shew of whatsoever he said or did. He too excessively
 “ exercis'd his Riot and Ambition, not able to qualify
 “ his Lusts and Desires. The Archbishop of York seems
 to have so trifling a Character, that Historians did not
 think it worth mentioning. In this great and good
 Change at Court, 'tis observable that several Ladies
 were expell'd, and bound to their good Behaviour: As
 the Lady Mowen, the Lady Moling, the Lady Poynings,
 the Lady Worth, and others. And 'tis highly pro-
 bable, those wicked Ministers could never have succeeded
 in all their Designs, had not those Ladies been in the
 Confederacy.

Nothing is more remarkable in the bad Conduct of
 this hated Ministry, than their favouring the French
 Interest, and setting the King against a War with France;
 it being, as Sir Robert writes, “ Not an unworthy Obser-
 “ vation, how frequently the French have been prevalent
 “ in England; and always in such Princes Times as have
 “ given so much Power to Ministers and Favourites,
 “ as made them considerable enough to be corrupted. He
 adds, that King Richard relapsing soon into his former
 Male-Government, “ That Interest and Opinion which

“ the French had wrought themselves into, appear’d in all
 “ Things to encrease. And the Bent of such Kings,
 and such Ministers, cannot better be understood, than by
 what this Prince swore to the Duke of Gloucester, and
 Archbishop of Canterbury, who were for a French War,
 “ That he would more willingly rely on the Protection
 “ of France, than thus to be made Servile to those he
 “ ought to Command. It being in such Reigns thought
 a Slavery to hearken to good Counsel, and be guided by
 Reason and Justice.

From what has been said, it plainly appears, that the
*Absolute Reign of Favourites is always destructive to the
 People:* To prevent which it would be convenient in the
 Distribution of Honours, that Regard be had to the Quality
 and Sufficiency of Persons, lest a *Publick Charge* should fall
 into unworthy Hands: They should rise by Degrees, from
 little Offices to great: No incapable Person should be ad-
 mitted by any means. The only way of coming to a
 Post should be by Vertue, Capacity, and Diligence, and
 should not be got without for Love or Money. For
 where unworthy Mortals are advanc’d, and insufficient
 Wretches prefer’d before able Persons; where those who
 have done no *Publick Services* get the upper Hand of those
that have; where *Miscreants* are honour’d, and *Publick
 Thieves* are respected like *Patriots*; there Men of the greatest
Goodness and *Merit*, provided they have Spirit, will be
 apt to give into *Sedition*, sometimes to gratify their
 Revenge. Sometimes, indeed, *Sedition* arises out of *Fear*:
 Some are afraid of being punish’d for their ill Practices,
 and others imagine some Evil will come upon them,
 and so rise to prevent it: Such was the Case of Catiline,
 and ’tis very much that that impious Wretch did not fall
 by the Tumult of the Populace, when the Discontents
 of Rome were so high, and the wants of Private Fami-
 lies so pressing. But their Resentments pursued him not
 with this kind of Violence: They assaulted him only
 with their Tongues and Pens, which had indeed the Effect
 of galling his Pride, and letting him understand how
 universally he was hated.

Catiline was of a very moody, peevish Temper, full of
 Suspicion, and soon mov’d to Anger upon any Insult.
 And, as it is observ’d of People that are deaf, when-
 ever they see a Laugh, or Smile, in Company, they are
 apt to think themselves the Objects of Raillery, and In-
 terpres

terpret every thing as a Reflection upon their Infirmities: So Catiline understood every thing that was said, or writ, in his Time of other Men, to be levell'd at him. If a Writer happen'd to speak with Honour of Brutus, or Scævola, or Decii, he took this to be done with a Design of Libelling him, by setting their Actions in Opposition to his. If, on the contrary, the Historian, represented the Actions of infamous Men, whether Antient or Modern, Roman or Barbarian, this was still a sharper Satire; for he applied it all home to himself.

Nor did Catiline alone, but the rest of the Conspirators * likewise, take to themselves every Invective that was either spoken, or penn'd, against wicked Men; and by their Clamours against the Authors, kept the Resentments of the People awake; who now believ'd that all which had been alledg'd against them was true; so that Things which at first were only read for Amusement, by these Mens Comments and Constructions to themselves, were understood in a Sense different from what had been before suspected. They best knew, indeed, whether the Copies were like them, or no, and therefore could best make the Application. And, since they were the first, who took all Infamy to themselves, it is no Wonder if the Romans, who hated them, agreed to let them have it.

But their Capriciousness on this Subject was so odd and tyrannical, that it was a Crime for Men to complain of what they suffer'd. It was like putting Men upon the Rack, and forbidding them to groan. Such were the Miseries of these Times; yet, in the midst of all this, Catiline was well enough pleas'd to see Hortensius abus'd, and Hortensius smil'd, with a malignant Satisfaction, at all the Sarcasms which were levell'd against Catiline; for, as we have before observ'd, they both envied and hated one another.

But Hortensius, who was now as much hated as Catiline, was a much better Dissembler of his Resentments, he appear'd very indifferent to every thing that was spoken against him; and when his Corruptions were directly thrown in his Face, in several witty Reflections by the honest part of the Senate (for this was all that they were able to do, the Taint of Bribery had so spread itself, and

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* This History may be seen at large in SALUST's History and CICERO's Orations.

was become, as Salust observes, a contagious Distemper) Hortensius was neither mov'd, nor asham'd. All the severe Truths which were utter'd of him, could never raise a Blush upon his Cheek; his Face was always the same, and tho' his Actions look'd sometimes one way, sometimes another, they, who accus'd him of Fickleness, might with the same Justice accuse the Weather-Cock; which, though it often turns, is still true to the Wind; so in all the Doubles that Hortensius made, he was zealously true to his Interest.

Never was the Republick in a more desperate Condition; an Impunity was granted to the highest Crimes; immense Riches was in the Hands of a few *Great Ones*; and Loss, Discredit and Ruin oppress'd the State in general. These were all the Consequences that Catiline's Ambition wish'd for; all his Aims of Happiness were centred in the Distress of his Country: Now, having secur'd himself from his deserv'd Punishment, strengthen'd his Party by a Body of infamous Senators, brought over by Bribes, and put himself in a Capacity of saving his Fellow-Conspirators, yet was he not content, but seem'd to have gain'd but half his Point. 'Tis true, he had Possession of the People's Money, and he still maintain'd his Dignity in the Commonwealth; but this was not enough to satisfy him; the most material Thing was left undone, and that was the subverting the Constitution; the Attempt of which, at last, indeed cost him his Life.

Machiavel is very curious in his Remarks upon the Government of the Decemvirate in Rome; and, particularly, upon the Conduct of Appius, who was at the Head of this Magistracy. This Appius took all the prudential Steps imaginable to get himself plac'd at the Top of the Administration; but he was wanting in his Care afterwards, to secure and establish himself in that Tyranny. Our Catiline had all the Errors of Appius in his Eye, which serv'd as a Sea-Mark, to shun the Rock on which the other split.

Upon this Occasion, I think, it is not going out of the way to make a short Comparison betwixt Appius and Catiline.

The former was so excellent a Dissembler of his Nature, that by caressing the People, by always joining with them against the Nobility, he stole into their good Opinions, and was look'd upon as a true Patriot. The Nobility were very jealous, and uneasy at the Power of the Tribunes,

Tribunes, who were always very tenacious of the People's Liberties; and the People, on their Side, inveigh'd as much against the Power of the Consuls. Appius cherish'd these Discontents for a while, but at length propos'd a Method of reconciling Matters, which was by altering the Constitution, and setting up another Form of Government, which was that of the Decemviri.

This Scheme both Nobility and People concurr'd in; and Appius, who was chosen One, soon made himself their Principal. But no sooner was he step'd into the Tyrant's Seat, than, as Livy tells us, he threw off the Mask of Hypocrisy, *snem fess ferenda aliena persona*; He then shew'd the Native Pride of his Heart, and infected all his Companions with his own Vices. He despis'd the Senate, and us'd the People ill. Now began the Populace to think, with Sorrow, on the Loss of their Tribunes; and the Nobility were not much concern'd at this their Affliction, hoping that the Commons, being weary of the Tyranny, would desire to have their Consuls restor'd. *Ut ipsi radio presentium Consules desiderantur*. Upon which Circumstance Machiavel observes, that tho' the Nobility love to tyrannize, yet They, who have no Share in the Tyranny, always hate the Tyrants.

The People now perceiving their Error, and the Villany of Appius, took from thence an Occasion to seek the Breath of Liberty: The Fear of losing which had brought the Commonwealth into this Misery.

Things being in this Condition, the only Step which Appius took to secure himself and his Brother Tyrants, was, by endeavouring to make a Party among the most Licentious of the Nobility, by condemning several Persons as Delinquents, and distributing their Estates amongst his Faction. But This was not found sufficient, for *THEN* it was a Shame to take a *BRIBE*, and the Number that could be corrupted was very Small.

When the Volscians and Sabines, therefore, made War against the Romans, the Tyrants found themselves in great Distress; for they knew the People would not enroll for the Wars; and if they call'd the Senate together to take Order about it, they foresaw this might be dangerous to themselves. Out of mere Necessity, however, they were reduc'd to take the latter Course: And the Senate being summon'd, began immediately to fall on the Tyrants; and Valerius and Horatius had the Courage to accuse them

of all their Villanies; which had this Effect, that having parted the Tyrants, they threw Appius and another into Prison, who there destroy'd themselves, while the Others made their Escape privately from Rome: And the Consular Government being restor'd, they soon defeated the Attempts of their Enemies.

What we have to observe upon This, is, the Difference betwixt the Conduct of Appius and Catiline. For Catiline neglected the first Steps taken by Appius, to wit Those of making himself Popular. But the Reason was, as we may suppose at this Distance, he lay under such invincible Prejudices, that he judg'd it impossible to make himself so. But having got into Office by other Methods, he bent all his Precautions to secure the After-Game; and this he effected by having a standing Army dispers'd through the Country of the Romans, by buying the Friendship of the most powerful Neighbours of the Roman State; and not only That, but engaging them to send great Forces into the Territories of Rome, in Case they should make a Struggle for the Liberties.

Had Appius taken the same Method, his Tyranny must have been establish'd, or, at least, must have lasted much longer. Nor was the Conduct of the Volscians and Sabines at all to be esteem'd Politick in this War; who thereby awak'd the Courage of the Romans, and hinder'd them from being ruin'd.

But the Neighbours of the Romans, in the time of Catiline, acted with consummate Wisdom and Policy; in lying still, and suffering Catiline and the Conspirators to do that Work more effectually, than they could have done by Arms: I mean the ruining and enslaving that mighty People. Three times was Rome sav'd by the Mis-Conduct of her Enemies, who fell upon her at a Time when she was almost destroy'd by Tyranny and Faction: Wherefore our Italian Politician says, That it is a wrong Course to assail Cities fallen into Discord among themselves: For the Causes of Discord in Commonwealths being Idleness and Peace, and these attended with Covetousness and Ambition, encourage some more bold and wicked than the rest to attempt Tyranny. And in a State, or Commonwealth, where that is designed, you are rather to seek to ruin them by Artifices of Peace: The first Step to which, would be to make Alliances with that State, and if possible, to have yourself reputed their sure and confident

fidest Friend. Thus, when they come to be divided, you are to assist, and abet, as secretly as you can, that Side which attempts the Tyranny; that the People finding themselves enslav'd, and being glad to embrace any Opportunity of Revenge on their Oppressors, may be easily induc'd to throw themselves under your Protection, and so become an easy Conquest.

If this Part be well play'd, as Machiavel observes, it seldom fails of having the Success design'd. And it was by this Trick that the Florentines ruin'd the City of Pistoia, and made themselves Masters of it: They privately favour'd the Tyrannous Faction, but with so much Secrecy, that the People of that City knew nothing of it, and took the Florentines to be their Friends: Wherefore, being tired of the Government of their Usurpers, they threw themselves under the Protection of the Florentines, who by these Means became Masters of the Place without striking a Blow for it.

To make an Application of this to our History, it is highly probable, that had the Gauls or Belgians invaded Rome just at the Beginning of Catiline's Conspiracy, that infamous Senate, which afterwards protected, had been oblig'd to have sacrific'd the Conspirators, to induce the People to turn against the common Enemy; and, of Consequence, the Commonwealth would have been sav'd: But these Barbarians took a wiser Course, in privately abetting the Conspiracy, and in accepting Money from the Faction to make Alliances with them. And this was the first Time that ever the Romans paid Money to buy the Friendship of their Neighbours.

It is true, that when they were besieg'd in the Capitol by the Gauls, being reduc'd by Famine, they came to Terms of Agreement to redeem themselves for a certain Sum of Money: But as soon as Camillus arriv'd with an Army to their Relief, he broke the Scales in which the Gold was weighing: Upon which Titus Livy makes this memorable Remark, That Fortune brought this to pass, that the Romans might not have the Dishonour of owing their Lives to Gold: *ut Romani, auro redempti non viverent.*

Machiavel, I remember, expatiates upon this Subject, and lays it down for a Maxim, that Commonwealths, or Princes, who are wise or powerful, never seek by Money

Money to make Alliances with others, but by the Reputation of their Valour or their Conduct.

To prove this he appeals to the Roman Commonwealth for an Example, who in all the Course of their glorious Actions, never overcame their Enemies, extended their Territories, or purchas'd the mercenary Friendship of their Neighbours, by the Influence of their Money, but the Power of their Arms. And among other Signs, says this Politician, by which Men may judge of the Power of a Commonwealth, they are to take Notice in what manner it lives with its Neighbouring States. For, when Affairs are so manag'd, that its Neighbours are forc'd to become its Tributaries, in order to maintain a Friendship with it, it is a certain Sign that it is great, wise, and powerful: But when such Neighbours, tho' inferior in Power, draw Money from it, This is as unanswerable a Proof of its Weakness and Decay.

Catiline, in like Manner, who knew the Decays of the Roman State, and how her Constitution was weaken'd and shatter'd from Sylla's Usurpation, took Care, as we have above hinted, to strengthen his Faction at Home with the Alliances of Neighbouring States. To this End large Sums were paid, and more prodigal Promises sent, to the Allobroges, to lend him their Assistance, in Case he should fail of succeeding with the Senate.

But the Precautions of the Wicked do not always answer the End of their Projectors. Providence sometimes interferes with an unseen Hand, and gives a Turn to the most concerted Counsels. Our own Passions are made the Instruments to disappoint our Plots and Cunning. Tho' Catiline now rioted in the Spoils of a ruin'd People, tho' by his Arts he had evaded the Prosecution of an enquiring Senate, tho' he could seem to dispise the Odium and Reproaches of the Populace, yet he could not so far conquer his Resentments, as quietly to sit down with those sharp and generous Invectives, which Cicero made against him in the following Speech.

THE

THE
 SPEECH * of CICERO
 TO
 CATILINE.

“ **H**OW long, pernicious *Catiline*, wilt thou abuse
 “ our Patience? — How long will that un-
 “ bridled Fury mock our Vengeance? — Does neither
 “ the Place, nor Respect of so many Senators, work upon
 “ Thee? Dost Thou not see Thy Counsels all laid open,
 “ all Thy dark Plots discover’d to the Senate? — Is
 “ there a Man in this Assembly ignorant of thy Villanies,
 “ if he would freely speak his Conscience? — His
 “ Seal, his Hand, and the Confession of all his Confederates
 “ have made it plain. O the deprav’d Manners of a vicious
 F Age!

† Quousque tandem abutere, Catilina, patientiâ nostrâ? quamdiu
 etiam Furor iste tuus nos eludet? Nihil hic munificentissimus habendi Sena-
 tus locus, nihil horum ora vultusque moverunt? Patere tua Consilia non
 sentis? Constrictam jam omnium horum Conscientia teneri Conjuratio-
 nem tuam non vides? Tenentur Literæ, Signa, Manus, denique unius-
 cujusque confessio. O tempora! O mores! Senatus hoc intelligit, Con-
 sul videri, hic tamen vivit: Vivit? Immo verò etiam in Senatum venit,
 sit publici Consilii Particeps: notat, & designat oculis ad Cædem unum-
 quemque nostram. Nos autem, viri fortes, satisfacere Reipublicæ vide-
 mur, si istius furorem ac tela vitemus. Fuit, fuit ista quondam in hac
 Republica Virtus, ut viri fortes acrioribus suppliciis Civem perniciosum,
 quam acerbissimum hostem coercerent. Habemus enim Senatus-Consul-
 tum in te, Catilina, vehemens & grave: Non deest Reipublicæ Con-
 silium, neque Auctoritas hujus Ordinis: Nos, nos, dico, apertè Consules
 desumus. At nos vigesimum jam diem patimur hebescere aciem horum
 auctoritatis: Habemus enim hujusmodi Senatus-Consultum, veruntamen
 inclusum in tabulis, tanquam gladium in vagina reconditum, quod ex Se-
 natus-Consulto confestim interfectum te esse, Catilina, convenit: Te, in-
 testinam aliquam quotidie perniciem Reipublicæ molientem — Servi,
 meherclè, mei, si me isto pacto metuerent, ut te metuant omnes Cives
 tui, domum meam relinquendam putarem: Tu tibi urbem non arbi-
 ris? Egredere ex urbe, Catilina, libera Rempublicam metu: In Exilium,
 si hanc vocem expectas, proficiscere. Quid est, Catilina? Ecquid at-
 tendis, ecquid animadvertis horum Silentium? patiuntur: tacent: Quid
 expectas auctoritatem loquentium, quorum voluntatem tacitorum peripi-
 cis. De te, autem, Catilina, cum quiescunt, probant; cum patiuntur,
 decipiunt; cum tacent, clamant. Cic. contra Catilin.

" *Age!* The *Consul* sees thy *Guilt*; the *Senate* knows it all,
 " yet this Man *lives* ——— not only *lives*, but comes
 " among us in the *Senate*, here sits and takes a Part in
 " *Publick Counsels*, looks round upon us, and with his
 " Eyes marks whom he shall destroy. Yet we, good easy
 " Men, think we have satisfied the State, because we have
 " escap'd the Fury of this Man. There was a *Virtue* once
 " in *Rome*, when honourable Men would have pursued a
 " *traiterous Citizen* with greater Vengeance than a *Publick*
 " *Enemy*. The Law is still the same, nor is the *Authority*
 " of the *Senate* less: It is *WE* that are *Wanting to OUR*
 " *SELVES*. This *Twenty Days* has that Decree lain by,
 " like a sharp *Sword* within its *Scaleboard*, which ought
 " to cut Thee off, Proud *Catiline*. Yet still Thou *livest*,
 " safe within our Walls, sitest in our *Councils*, and art,
 " every Hour, plotting some fatal *Mischief to the State*.
 " Why were not the *Sears* left empty at Thy Entrance?
 " Why did not all the *Consular Men* depart, and leave their
 " Places when Thou satest down among them? Why
 " shunn'd they not Thee, as they would a *Plague*, or
 " *Ruin*? ——— Surely, if my *Slaves at Home* look'd on
 " Me with half that *Fear and Horror*, with which Thy
 " Fellow-Citizens regard Thee, I should forsake my House.
 " Yet Thou dost impudently remain among us! Why dost
 " Thou not go forth, insulting Man, to voluntary *Flight*
 " and *Banishment*? Condemn thy self, and free the *Com-*
 " *monwealth*, and *People*, of their *Fears*. Let *Solitude*
 " receive Thee, for that will fit Thee best. Why dost
 " Thou stare about? They all consent to it: Their silent
 " *Wills* condemn Thee, tho' Thou hast escap'd the *Authority*
 " of their *Voices*. While they sit silent thus, they approve
 " Thy *Exile*; and while they suffer me to mention, they
 " they proclaim it.

This Harangue so provok'd *Catiline*, that without making any Reply. he left the *Senate* and *Rome*; gathering together some of those *Troops*, which he caus'd to be quarter'd in the *Italian Towns*. With these he made towards the *City*, desperately resolving to sacrifice *Cicero*, and every honest Man there; for he had left *Cethegus* and *Lentulus* behind within the Walls, (two of his *Creatures*) with private Orders, before his Departure, upon a certain Night, to set the *City* on Fire, to tear up all the *Aqueducts*; that no *Water* might be found to quench it,

and

and in the Hurry to cut the Throats of every Roman, who in the late Examination would not be brib'd to their Party.

But these his horrid Intents, by the Vigilance of Cicero, were prevented; and the noble Petreus, going forth with a Body of brave and honest Romans, fell upon Catiline, and his Mercenaries, and attack'd them so vigorously, that most of them were left dead on the Spot. When the Body of Catiline was found, as Salust observes, his dead Looks retain'd the Fierceness of him when living, and the Terrors of his Face still express'd an Image of his *Unnatural Mind*.

From what has been said, I hope no Person can suspect this Pamphlet to be intended a Libel, which throws more Scandal on the Person, at whom it is suppos'd to be level'd, than the most open and declar'd Invective ever did.

What gave me a Ground for this Reflection, is, that there are Persons in the World, it seems, who are for turning every thing into a Libel. I will be bold to say, that a malicious Calumny cannot hurt a Great Man (tho' it may reflect Disgrace upon the Author) nay, on the contrary, it often does him Service: For Men are apt to pity him whom they see injur'd; and when they perceive a Great Man has been wrong'd in one Thing, it often happens, that they will not believe even the Truths that are spoken against him. But Wicked Men, indeed, have Reason to apprehend Truth, and therefore it is no Wonder if they prosecute it.

Julius Caesar, who was the most merciful and generous of all the Romans, never punish'd any thing that was said against him: And the wise *Augustus* follow'd his Example in this Particular: He fear'd no invidious Enquiry into his Actions; but allow'd the Populace such a Liberty of discanting on him, that he never punish'd any Libels against his Person: And, if we may credit *Suetonius* on this Head, he did not only not dread them, but took great Pains to answer them: *Nec expavit, & magnâ curâ redarguit.*

This he did by the honest Advice of his First Minister *Mæcænus*, who gave it as his Opinion, that Calumnies never hurt a good Prince, whose Virtues can stand the Test, and are Proof against them; but are only dangerous to Wicked Governors. And *Augustus* himself was often heard to say, *That the Wickedness of the Times requir'd, and deserv'd a Freedom and Boldness of Speech.* Nor

did he find this Practice of any small Advantage to him; for by that means he discovered both the Affections and Grievances of his People: The latter of which, had Mæcæus been a corrupt Minister, he would have endeavour'd to have kept from his Knowledge; and of Consequence, would have advis'd him to suppress and punish every thing that was written upon the Times as Libels.

Tiberius, who succeeded him, and was a Prince of another Stamp, took a contrary Method in this, as well as every other Respect. To his Eternal Infamy it is recorded, that he forc'd M. Æmilius Scaurus to kill himself, only for having written the Tragedy of Atreus, in which he advis'd the People who liv'd under the Government of a bad Prince, to be patient, and submit to Tyranny. The Emperor would have it, that the Poet struck at *Him* in the Character of Atreus, knowing he had committed many Murthers and illegal Outrages; and therefore, with a Mixture of Wit and Malice, he said, He would make an Ajax of Scaurus, by forcing him to kill himself.

Under so vile a Government as this of Tiberius, a Man must be mad that would venture to write upon the Times, when every Truth must be Treason. In such an Administration, the most distant Shadow of a Reflection glares in their Eyes, and they are extremely witty and malicious at making Applications. The same flagitious Prince (for his Reign furnishes many Instances of extravagant Tyranny) put a poor Fellow to Death barely for a Jest; but it was one that carried both Truth and Satire in it. Augustus (by his Last Will) bequeath'd a Legacy to every Roman Citizen, which Tiberius took no Care to see discharg'd. As a great Funeral pass'd one day thro' the Streets, a certain Man with much Bustle and Difficulty prest thro' the Croud, and wisper'd something in the Dead Man's Ear. The People flock'd about to know the Meaning of this Whim, and enquir'd into the Contents of the Whisper; when the Person told them, that he had desir'd the Dead Man to inform Augustus, that the Romans had not yet receiv'd their Legacies. The Informers soon carried this Story to Tiberius, who sent for the Man, paid him down his Legacy, and caus'd his Throat to be cut, telling him, That he might now go himself, and inform Augustus, that One was paid.

The

The Freedom of the poor Fellow's Raillery may, perhaps, be still'd by ill-natur'd People a sufficient Provocation for the Emperor's Barbarity; but all the Actions of this Prince were of a Piece: His was a Reign of Rapine and Blood; and therefore we are the less to wonder at this Cruelty. His Fury extended to all sorts of Wit and Learning; he found in every Writing some Pretence or other, for punishing its Authors: He caus'd One Poet to be thrown into Prison, because in his Tragedy of Agamemnon, he had not represented that Prince great enough, and that Failure in Character was a Reflection upon all other Princes. Cremutius Cordus, the Historian, was accus'd in his Reign for praising Brutus, and saying that Cassius was the last of the Romans; for the vile Sycophants and Flatterers of the Court drew this Inference from the Expression, that if Cassius were the last of the Romans, Tiberius could be no Roman, and consequently no Emperor of Rome. Here was *Læsa Majestatis Crimen* implied, a Traiterous Intention of deposing Tiberius; the Author's Annals were censur'd as a fiction, dangerous, and treasonable Libel, and the Author himself, a seditious Man, in upbraiding the present Times by commending the Times past.

The Issue of this virulent Prosecution was, that Cremutious Cordus was clap'd up into close Confinement, and restrain'd from every thing that could contribute to make a Prison easy. He had all the Rigour shewn him which, as Suetonius tells us, that Emperor practis'd against State-Delinquents: *Quibus custodia traditis, non modo Studendi solatium ademptum, sed etiam Sermonis & colloquii Usus;* when they were thrown into Prison, they were not only deny'd the Conversation of Friends, but the Use of Pen and Ink, the Means and Comfort of Study.

These rigorous Expositions call to my Mind a shrewd Observation of Ben Johnson's in his Play of Sejanus.

*It is an Argument the Times are sore,
When Virtue cannot safely be advanc'd,
Nor Vice reprov'd.* —

FINIS